

TRANSCRIPT OF BROADCAST

By

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X - Ag 2 R.F.E.
X - Pres 1 W.F. Buckley Jr.
X - Pres 2 J. Burnham

Over the week end, ladies and gentlemen, there has been a rather interesting and important new twist in the story on Radio Free Europe and from an unexpected source. You are, I am sure, familiar with Mr. William F. Buckley Jr., the distinguished young man who collaborated with Mr. Brent Bozelle in the book "McCarthy and His Enemies." Mr. Buckley also wrote "God and Man at Yale," and he presently is editor and publisher of the excellent weekly National Review, to which you should be a subscriber if you're not one already.

Mr. Buckley has been following this series of broadcasts about Radio Free Europe and the Crusade for Freedom, and I have discussed the subject with him on several occasions. And, as a leading anti-Communist, he finds himself considerably concerned because he thinks, as I do, that there is a very important place for an operation which is dedicated to the announced purposes that Radio Free Europe purports to have. Mr. Buckley feels that it would be unfortunate if Radio Free Europe were to be allowed to go down the drain because of incompetent management that is so bureaucratic and stubborn as to refuse to clean its own house. With this I agree and I hoped through this series that the exposure of the facts about the Free Europe operation would stir those who are responsible for it into some realistic self-examination in the nature of a clean-up and a reform--I still am hopeful to this end--to establish the project on a sound track of reality and really sending the message of truth and hope behind the iron curtain.

Mr. Buckley has come up with a proposal that he use his good offices and those of National Review to set up an informal committee or commission composed of three or five or perhaps seven members who are recognized students of Communism, studious men of unchallengeable integrity, to do a studious review of the operations of Radio Free Europe to date in the light of what I have reported over this microphone and in my newspaper columns with a view to coming up with an evaluation of the whole operation and the reports I have made about it and what should be done about it. His idea is to exact an advance understanding from me, on the one hand, and from Radio Free Europe, on the other hand, to accept the evaluations of this informal commission in good faith and to carry them out in good faith insofar

as the carrying out is humanly possible. He provides a list of distinguished students of the Communist conspiracy from which these commission members might be drawn and the list includes: James Burnham, Sidney Hook, Will Hurburg, Eugene Lyons, Charles Lowry, Thomas Murray, Max Eastman, Ralph de Toledano, William Henry Chamberlain, Christopher Emmet, Judge Robert Morris, Francis McNamarra, and a string of others. These are all eminent citizens in whom I have great confidence, although I have no way of knowing whether they would be acceptable as a commission to Radio Free Europe although they should be because Free Europe is supposed to be dedicated to the fight against Communism, which certainly is my principal motivation in the reporting that I have done.

My complaint is that the Radio Free Europe operation and methods are not effective and indeed in some particulars are probably doing more harm than good. I am gratified by this suggestion by Mr. Buckley because it demonstrates that the tremendous effort that I and my staff have put into this Free Europe study over the past eight months has not been in vain and in fact is bearing very positive fruit. Here in itself is positive fruit--the interest displayed in this connection. And I understand that Mr. Buckley has already obtained acceptances from a sizable number of the individuals he has listed. I informed that my entire very voluminous files and all of my documentation on the Radio Free Europe operation are available to his commission, subject only to the provision that I must of course protect the anonymity of a few sources of information whom I have promised to protect. But these in no case are key figures, nor is there key evidence, and aside from these, his commission is welcome to the works.

Whether Free Europe will agree to any such commitment, I have no way of knowing, but I shall be interested to find out. The considerations which motivate me are several and quite direct. In the first place, the Free Europe operation is a semi-public agency and, as such, should be investigated by an official agency of government--I have in mind a congressional committee--rather than any unofficial commission. The unofficial commission would not have the powers of subpoena--which are essential if all of the facts in the Free Europe story are to be brought to light, as they should be. Such a commission would only be able to have access to my own files, to which they are welcome as I say, and to the files of Free Europe to such an extent as the Free Europe Committee is willing to make them available. And I have found from experience that such availability is highly selective. When you come to important and significant material, the probabilities are that you are informed by Free Europe that this is classified and thus not available.

The commission, for example, would have no way of getting access to the medical records of the Army Medical Corps in the Fletcher Bartholomew case. They would have to depend on the records and files of the Free Europe Committee, and the whole point of the Bartholomew case is, I contend, that these reports and files of theirs are self-serving on the part of the very people who are responsible for the Bartholomew case--thus are not reliable. Another very important consideration is that witnesses who would appear before such a commission are not under subpoena and not even under any substantive oath. This means that they would have no immunity from prosecution. As a result of their testimony, many of the individuals within the Free Europe organization whom I know personally and have important evidence to give, including suspicions of actual espionage on the part of their superiors, would never be willing to testify informally. Before a Congressional Committee under subpoena, yes, a thousand times over. They are aching to tell their stories, but they dare not do so except under protection because some persons suspected of feeding information to me already have been fired from their Free Europe jobs.

There is one additional point, which is perhaps the most important of all, and that is that I have no intention of being placed in the position of being engaged in some sort of a debate, or feud, or war, with Radio Free Europe or the Crusade for Freedom or any of the affiliated operations. I've done a straightforward reportorial job, under rather difficult circumstances, I might add, and that job stands on its own feet. If there are errors in the things that I have reported to you and if they are brought to my attention either by the Free Europe Committee or by anybody else, it's my duty to correct them fully and completely so as not to misinform you. I have made two, which I shall correct probably tomorrow night for the sake of the record. One was a rhetorical slip, the other was a matter of semantics, an interpretation which can be straightened out with a simple statement of what the facts are. Aside from these, I'm unaware of any errors in the reportorial job that I have done, and certainly none has been demonstrated to me, by anyone.

What seems to be in order at the present time, and this is up to you out over the country, is for these facts to be investigated by the appropriate committee of the Congress of the United States, properly constituted and properly vested with the necessary authority to get all the facts. And that committee is the Internal Security Committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, commonly called the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. The chairman is Senator James Eastland of Mississippi. The chief

council of it is Mr. Jay Sourwine, who succeeded Judge Robert Morris when the latter resigned back in January to run for the United States Senate in New Jersey. What is needed now is for you, the public--if you consider this Radio Free Europe story to be of sufficient importance to be followed up with action--to make your demands known to the committee and insist that they give the matter their attention. This is their job, they have the authority to go into such questions as these, and there are some courageous and very able senators on that committee--Jenner of Indiana, Roman Hruska of Nebraska, John Marshall Butler of Maryland, John McClellan of Arkansas and others. This is the only form of pressure that can force the clean-up that's necessary in the Free Europe Committee operation, and this is the spot where the investigation should be made.

As is obvious from the proposals of Mr. Bill Buckley, the head of pressure of public opinion has been sufficiently established to have effective results. The next move is for you--if you feel that there should be a congressional investigation, to force that investigation, as you have done on many occasions in the past and it merely requires sufficient public demand, and the investigation, we'll have--public demand in the form of letters, telegrams, and postcards. The name of the committee once again is the Senate Internal Subcommittee, the chairman is Senator John Eastman of Mississippi, Senator James Eastman of Mississippi, I beg your pardon. The council is Mr. Jay Sourwine, Senator James Eastland of Mississippi.